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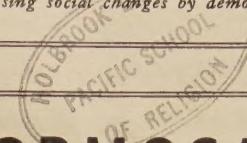
Social Questions Bulletin

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The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation stands for the complete abolition of war. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.



WILL THERE BE WAR FOR FORMOSA?

The Methodist Federation for Social Action has opposed war with China at or over Formosa or the coastal islands. Such war has now been authorized by Congress on request of the President. The man elected President on promise to get us out of a silly, unpopular war in Korea, has sought and received a blank check advance authorization to get us into a war which could be much more costly and not likely any more popular. War with China, thus invited, might indeed open the door to the unimaginable disaster of a Third World War. If so, and if the new weapons now on both sides are used, that war might end civilization and humanity as we know it—as the recent impassioned calls for war's abolition by Lord Bertrand Russell and Gen. Douglas MacArthur have stressed.

Is defense of the discredited and ousted Chiang regime worth much? Should American and other blood be spilled on the basis (officially denied formerly) that the distant island of Formosa is essential to our nation's defense? Japan once took Formosa from China by aggression, but abandoned all claim to it in the Japanese Peace Treaty. The island is Chinese by long history, is so considered by the contending Chinese groups, and is so declared by our and other allied governments in the Cairo and Potsdam agreements. Americans have no historic or legal claim to control Formosa. Our military action at and regarding Formosa, initiated by President Truman in June, 1950, been unilateral, without United Nations sanction.

What Secretary of State Dulles confessed to be an "advance declaration of war" was rushed through Congress with great haste and little consideration or debate. (The House decided the matter within three hours!) Even so, a valiant minority spoke out against the Administration's war-authorization resolution. Some elements from the Congressional debate are included below.

Beyond Congress in our democracy, are the people. Time is short, and the situation urgent. In their recent meetings at Boston and Chicago, the MFSA Executive Committee spoke out by wire to the President; and their resolutions on this and on other current issues are printed in this Bulletin. Other islands are involved well as Formosa. Let their rightful, legitimate status be decided by the proper parties and by peaceful negotiations. A decided step in that direction would be recognition, and admission to the U.N. of the actual government of China, the world's most populous country and one of its major powers. Policies based on illusion or pretense or wishful thinking do not make for peace. The immediate and overriding issue is the avoidance of war.

Won't you send your views and recommendations to President Eisenhower today? The people can and may influence his course of action for peace. Will you and your church and civic groups share? God has made us in His image to be creators, not mere spectators, in history.

EXCERPTS FROM THE SENATE DEBATE

"MR. MORSE. . . . if we go into such a war, we are not going to it in a day or in a year, or in ten years. That is because all the atomic weapons, all the atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs will not subdue the mainland of China. We can pockmark it with all the weapons of atomic destruction, and even though each pockmark on the topography of China may extend 20 miles across, we could not subjugate China by atomic action. Mr. President, in the last analysis we could not subjugate

China by any means except manpower; and that would mean American manpower, with foot soldiers—American foot soldiers. . . .

"Should a conflict come it will go on long after the bombing is over. We then would be confronted with the job of occupying the vast land mass of China, which no nation to date has ever subjugated, and which I am not sure even our trigger-happy military advisers of our own Nation believe even we could conquer. Years of guerrilla warfare would go along with our occupation of China."

—U. S. Senate, Jan. 26, Congr. Rec., p. 637.

"MR. MORSE. I was surprised and a little shocked last night, Mr. President, to hear a prominent journalist tell me that he thought the major objection to my approach to this problem was that the people of the country should not be the ones to judge the course of action which is taken in such a matter as this. I could not believe my ears.

"He went on to argue that, of course, the people did not want to go to war, but it may be necessary to go to war. I hope we have not reached the point, Mr. President, where the people, and the sons of the people who will be doing so much of the dying in a war, if it should come, cannot determine the peace and war policies of their government.

"I am perfectly satisfied that if the people of this nation had one week in which to consider the implications and inevitable consequences of this resolution it would be overwhelmingly rejected by them in its present form.

"There are various reasons for wanting an early disposition of this resolution which is before the Senate, but I am not blind to the fact that one of these reasons on the part of Administration leaders is that they would like to get the matter settled before the people learn too much about it."

—U. S. Senate, Jan. 27, Congr. Rec., p. 740.

"MR. MORSE. It simply must be said—even though it is a very blunt statement—that some of us, and I am one of them, believe that for the past two or three years Admiral Radford has been leaning and inclining very strongly toward the preventive war theory. Some of us feel, after we hear him, that he entertains the thought that war with Red China is inevitable—and, for that matter, that war with Red Russia is inevitable, too; and we fear that he may hold the opinion that if such a war is to be fought, now is the time to fight it—if not sooner. That is why we have this additional reason for fearing the language of the joint resolution."

—U. S. Senate, Jan. 27, Congr. Rec. 742.

"MR. LONG. For myself, I fully believe that Chiang Kai-shek and his friends have no more certain purpose than to have the United States fully involved in all-out war with Red China, even if this should mean war with Russia."

—Jan. 26, Congr. Rec. 632.

"MR. KEFAUVER. We shall place our future . . . in the hands of a man who passionately wants to get back on the mainland of China, and who apparently would give anything in the world to get us involved in a war with Communist China, so he could get back on the mainland of China, by using our troops and our military power."

—Jan. 26, Congr. Rec. 658.

"MR. BYRD. If the pending treaty is ratified, we would enter into close partnership, on equal terms, with Chiang Kai-shek . . . It was Chiang Kai-shek to whom America sent hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of war materials when the civil war began in China. Later, our valuable war materials were found not only in the black markets of China but also in the hands of the Communists.

"We are becoming a partner with the leaders of Chinese who have been driven from their country. Our purpose is to protect the perimeter of our defense. Above all, we do not want land warfare on the mainland of China. But the primary desire of Chiang Kai-shek is war on the mainland to recapture his power in Asia.

"For his purposes, Chiang Kai-shek knows better than anyone else that he can never set foot on China again without American planes, troops and ships.

"As a Senator, it is my considered opinion that Chiang Kai-shek is motivated by self-interest; that when the critical time comes he may place his ambitions above the welfare of his American partner."

—U. S. Senate, Jan. 28, Congr. Rec. 838.

MFSA Executive Committee Resolutions

Boston, Nov. 30, 1954—Chicago, Jan. 31, 1955.

Discussed and/or adopted at both meetings except as noted:

ON AVOIDANCE OF WAR

We commend President Eisenhower for his attitude expressed in "the courage to be patient"; for his warnings concerning atomic warfare, and for his recognition of the necessity of accepting and acting upon the principle of "co-existence." The only alternative to co-existence is no existence at all.

CHINA AND FORMOSA

The drive to war is sharpest in the China situation, and we commend the President's opposition to a blockade of China. We do not want American resources or armed forces committed to any military adventures against China which are based from Formosa.

Those who oppose the war-inciting tactics in the Formosa situation have been challenged to state alternative action. It is necessary to remind ourselves that Formosa was really occupied by Chinese Nationalist forces on the basis of the Cairo conference in which the people of Formosa had no voice. Since 1895 the people of Formosa have had little or no contact with the mainland. Formosa has every right to self-determination.

Competent observers have reported that while independence would be preferred, the present situation calls for protection from the United Nations.

Formosa did not invite Chiang Kai-shek to come to their peaceful island. Formosa was disturbed and bitter because of the massacre of their citizens in February, 1947, by Chiang's forces. Formosa did not ask for unilateral action by the United States. Neither does Formosa desire control by the Chinese Peoples' government.

The alternative, therefore, is for the United Nations to take over the responsibility of Formosa, preferably with the more acceptable Asiatic personnel; evacuating Nationalist leadership and armed forces to some sanctuaries in the Pacific or Southeast Asia. This policy offers the way to avoid war.

(On the basis of the above a telegram was sent to the President from Chicago.)

RACE RELATIONS—SEGREGATION

The Federation is alarmed at the reported well-organized attempts to preserve the un-Christian practice of segregation, even in the face of the Supreme Court decision. We are alarmed at reports that prospective members of the General Conference are being pledged to vote against the abolition of the Central Jurisdiction. We are happy to hear of increasing numbers of local churches who are taking steps definitely in de-segregation. We commend the statement of the Council of Bishops coming out of their meeting, November 18-21, on this issue and trust that modifications reported from some bishops have no basis in fact. We believe that methods can be devised which will assure our Negro brethren adequate leadership and representation in the councils of the church without the Central Jurisdiction.

GERMAN RE-ARMAMENT

We stand against the proposals to re-arm a nation which has twice in this century precipitated a world war. We commend Martin Niemoller and other church leaders in Germany who oppose the folly of rearmament. We cite the recent warning of General MacArthur that world leaders should take a new course of action. We urge negotiations toward disarmament which includes all nations and across all curtains.

TAXES

We favor raising the individual income tax exemption to \$700 and the reenactment of the excess profits tax for corporations.

"RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS

Our Social Creed emphasizes the right of collective bargaining. Many of the present proposed "right to work" laws will operate in a way which destroys the intent of the Social Creed on this issue and should be opposed.

BUDGET

We call attention to the figures in the national budget recently submitted by the President and especially to the fact that expenditures for human welfare are far subordinated to payments for past war, for present armament, and for future war-

fare. This is at a time when health, housing and educational facilities are inadequate.

COMMUNIST CONTROL LAW

We regard the Communist Control Act, adopted in the closing days of the Congress last August, to be ill-conceived, hastily drawn, and extremely dangerous to American civil liberties. This law even rates the opposition of the Wall Street Journal. We further believe this act, outlawing a political party, is of dubious constitutionality. Under the fourteen points outlined to determine who is communist, anybody who has participated in social action motivated by the teachings of prophetic religion and of Jesus, through the currently popular and un-American doctrines of guilt by association and guilt by parallelism, can be convicted under this law. We urge its repeal immediately, and ask our members to communicate this desire for repeal to their representatives in the government.

DELINQUENCY

The cure of delinquency should start with adequate prevention with provision for ample public social centers when these cannot be provided for otherwise and always under adequate trained leadership concerned with character. We commend the Chicago Sun-Times for the series of articles on this subject. We are stunned by the revelations coming out of the Boston prison riot indicating brutality and abuse and point again to the position taken by the Methodist Social Creed.

AGRICULTURE

We are deeply concerned with the plight of the small farmer. His income has declined while prices have not. We favor the re-establishment of 90 per cent parity for the family type farm but with a lower rate of parity for the commercial or absentee farmer.

GIVE-AWAYS

In accordance with MFSA principles, we reaffirm our conviction that the God-given natural resources of this nation should be managed and controlled for the good of all the people, not exploited for the benefit of the few. Indication of immorality in high places is the give-away of unknown billions worth of natural resources in tide-lands oil. The Dixon-Yates relation to TVA should be defeated. Dixon-Yates have always been accustomed to competitive bidding. Why the exception in this case?

NIXON-KING

We commend the Board of Temperance in its strong objection to the appointment of a liquor official, Robert L. King, as the top administrative assistant of Vice-President Nixon.

WHAT THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION MEANS TO ME

To me the Methodist Federation for Social Action is a fellowship of Christians trying better to understand Christ's way of life and to make it more nearly effective in our world.

In the Lord's Prayer we pray that God's kingdom may come and His will may be done on earth as it is in heaven. Jesus often spoke of the kingdom of God. Certainly we can never know all that He meant by this term. But certainly it does include a world in which many people are truly trying to do the will of God and to promote it by their words, their deeds, and their lives.

In the Great Commandment we are told that we must love the Lord our God, and our neighbor as ourself. Jesus was responding to someone who asked him about the great commandment of the law. He replied by giving two commandments, but in His perspective the two are actually one since the second depends on the first and the first depends on the second.

As followers of Christ, we must practice His kind of love. We must grow in love of God and in love toward our neighbor. We should remember the words of Jesus in the parable of the judgment: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me." Here Jesus identifies Himself completely with the interests and needs of the hungry, the sick, the naked, the stranger, and the prisoner. We who call Him our master should cultivate His spirit and emulate His example.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

While the nation has been moving to the brink of war, the suppression of democratic rights has been increased by two actions which demonstrate the inseparable connection between the trend toward war and the movement toward the police state. Should war come the two evils will move as one. The concentration camps, already furnished, will be opened and filled.

This has been made clear by the Attorney General's inclusion of five local peace groups in his recent additions to the list of subversive organizations. Advocacy of peace is now officially subversive. So, in the event of war, religious organizations which have carried on educational propaganda for peace will naturally be considered dangerous. Thus once more, as in Germany, the increasingly repressive hand of the state moves from communism to labor, to education, and then to religion. This development proceeds by the inner logic of suppression. It follows from the unconstitutional interference with religion and the concern of the F.B.I. and local red squads with the utterances of preachers and the activities of religious organizations.

This is the price organized religion has now to pay for not having seen and opposed in their beginnings the unconstitutionality of the Un-American Activities Committee's vague mandate and the dictatorship power given the Attorney General. For both of these there is no remedy except to lay the axe to the root of the tree—strip the Attorney General of his unconstitutional power, and forbid all congressional committees to act contrary to the guarantees of the First Amendment.

The other event which measures the extent of our recent movement toward the police state is the decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of the Communist Party against the provisions of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act. The 2-1 decision was written by Judge Prettyman, who also wrote the decision which sent Dr. Barsky and others of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee to jail and so left Prettyman's view of the law the precedent for deciding further federal and state prosecutions. It sanctions Congressional Committee enquiry into political opinions and beliefs, and punishment for them.

The same nullification of the First Amendment is repeated in the present case. "We make the same assumption here that we made in 'Barsky vs U. S.' We assume without deciding, that this statute will interfere with freedoms of speech and assembly . . . the right of expression ceases at the point where it leads to harm to the government."

As I. F. Stone points out in his Weekly Letter, this is exactly the thinking against which the framers of the Bill of Rights rebelled. They meant to stop what had happened, and was happening, in England in the 17th and 18th centuries when speech and writing were being punished because some official thought might be harmful to the government.

If the Supreme Court again declines to review, this decision rejecting the basic principles of the Bill of Rights, will stand as the law of the land. Recently that court refused to hear the appeal of 13 second-string Communist Party leaders based on the new point of informer witness perjury. In so doing it broke its pledge in the first Smith Act decision that in future cases "where there is doubt . . . this court will review the conviction with the scrupulous care demanded by the constitution."

Plainly the Bill of Rights is now in mortal peril. Stone points out that three of the four national papers which opposed the McCarran act and applauded the Truman veto have now reversed themselves and approved the Prettyman decision. "Easy is the descent into Hades." He also names a list of other papers, and of liberal columnists, who have remained silent. Is that going to be true of that section of our religious organizations and press which has been affirming devotion to the Bill of Rights? Or will they repeat the story of German Protestantism and Hitler? H. F. W.

WHAT THE MFSA MEANS TO ME

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To me the Methodist Federation for Social Action is a Methodist fellowship of Christian concern. It is a fellowship of Methodists who are deeply concerned about extending Christ's way of life on earth. We come together in a fellowship so that we may support and strengthen each other, so that we may explore our concern and express it in principles and programs of action, so that we may prod the conscience of our Church and provide

leadership for Christians awakened to the call of Christ.

To me the Methodist Federation for Social Action is the prophetic voice of Christian conscience. In our humble way we are striving to follow in the tradition of the Old Testament prophets who felt that they were inspired by the Living God and who spoke for their day and nation "the words of eternal life." The ultimate in this tradition was Jesus, who as Messiah and Saviour was more than a prophet. Ever since His resurrection, Christ has been the wellspring of Christian prophecy.

To me the Methodist Federation for Social Action is the cutting edge of the Methodist Church. Our Church has lost its edge and its temper. It is our role to cut through to the heart of our Christian faith, to cut away that which is of the world and not of Christ, and to cut our way into the wrongs and evils all about us.

To me the Methodist Federation for Social Action is a fellowship in the forefront of Christian life and work. Its prayer is that God's will may be done on earth and its program is to advance His kingdom on earth.

FLOYD MULKEY, Chicago.

A CHRISTIAN PLEA FOR BROTHERHOOD

(From statement adopted by World Council of Churches, Evanston, August, 1954)

"Everywhere there is restlessness in the world. This is due in great part to the hunger of millions of people for status and recognition, for a meaning for both life and work, and for a fuller share of the fruits of the earth.

"The hatreds, jealousies and suspicions with which the world has always been afflicted are deepened by racial prejudices and fears, rooted in the sinful human heart and entrenched in law and custom.

"When we are given Christian insight the whole pattern of racial discrimination is seen as an unutterable offense against God, to be endured no longer.

"Racial and ethnic fears, hates and prejudices are more than social problems with whose existence we must reckon; they are sins against God and his commandments that the gospel alone can cure.

" . . . The churches have this twofold duty, to obey and to proclaim the word of judgment, to repent and to call to repentance. It is their task to challenge the conscience of society; if there is no tension between the church and society, then either the society is regenerate or the church is conformed. Yet it also has a duty to create and to keep open every possible line of communication between people, between political opponents, between people of different views, cultures, races, languages, between the conservative and the venturesome.

" . . . The churches have a special duty toward those of their members who feel called to challenge actively the conscience of society and who thus offend against custom, and incur loneliness and suffering. It is a great duty of the church to offer its love and fellowship, and even its admonition in the light of the gospel, to all who strive to be obedient whatever the world's opinion.

" . . . The Church of Christ cannot approve of any law which discriminates on grounds of race, which restricts the opportunity of any man to acquire education to prepare himself for his vocation, to procure or to practice employment in his vocation, or in any other way curtails his exercise of the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to share in the responsibilities and duties of government.

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The Social Ethic and the Working Man

By KERMIT EBY*

Organizers who, in 1931 and 1932, started working for embryo unions for 50c a day and lunch money were motivated by far more passionate emotions than desire for folding money. They were fighting the insecurity, the fear, the process which tries to make men into machines, which even today in America hems in millions of working men.

Today it is quite fashionable in some academic circles—and, I should guess, in some church circles—to put a great deal of emphasis on the "friendly rapport" angle of management-union relationships.

In actuality, of course, no amount of bright smiles or psychology testing or friendly rapport has yet solved the schism between supervisor and worker. It might possibly be solved by giving the worker the feeling that he owns his own factory (that is, giving the worker ownership rights); or through the hard industrial fact of the automatic factory. The first alternative is not a likely possibility; the second is closer than we think. There is one automatic Ford factory set up in Cleveland already; that factory runs almost totally without workers, and with only a few foremen to tend the master machines.

Now although automation may solve the worker-foreman dilemma, it will certainly give us no answers to the workman's bugaboo—unemployment—any more than the invention of the cotton gin, gave us answers to unemployment. Rather, like the cotton gin, and all following improvements in the industrial processes, automation will, for a time (perhaps for a long time) create a great deal more unemployment. The coming of automation means a great deal more than that. It means that perhaps within our lifetime, the great dream of man—to use machines as slaves in order to liberate men from slavery—will be within arm's reach. And at the same time that this is possible, it is also possible for man to blow himself and all his kind from the face of the earth with the hydrogen bomb.

But specifically in relation to the Protestant work ethic, the introduction of automation means startling things. It means revision of such time-honored concepts as "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay," such long-used concepts as the idea that work for its own sake is good for a man. If the natural courses of industrial production are allowed to take their course, and automation is not aborted along the way, "by the sweat of his brow" will no longer apply to factory workers; rather, "by the creative use of his leisure." Hard, back-breaking drudgery will become the prerogative of people unlucky enough to be born into underdeveloped areas of the world, areas in which nobody thinks of work as glorious, but only as necessary.

This is another reason why we of Protestantism have often showed ourselves to be out of touch with working groups in this country. We have approached such groups from the standpoint that work is "glorious," and any average factory worker can tell you differently. Here, the difference between the psychology of a man who owns his own grocery store or his own gas station or his own farm and a worker who knows very surely that he is only hired out to work, in completely routine fashion, at somebody else's machine, is self-evident.

Both management and labor in their brochures, state that they are frightened to death of idleness. But management takes the old standpoint that men are anarchists at heart, and that you can't get a man to work at all unless you threaten him with starvation. Meanwhile, unions are frightened of the world idleness because it brings up visions of mills shutting down, soup lines, apple carts, and the old song, "Why don't you work like other people do? How can I work, when there's no work to do . . ."

The economic question here becomes indistinguishable from the moral question. The Guaranteed Annual Wage Plan, for example, chiefly the creation of the United Automobile Workers, is based on the theory that management, like every other section of society, has obligations as well as rights. The clear moral implication of this plan is simple: a company should not be allowed to take up and leave, go out of business, or lay off workers at will (as in Marysville); a company owes consideration to the workers whom it employs, the community in which it lives, and the eco-

nomy of which it is a part and from which it, too, draws sustenance. Because if management is allowed to be irresponsible, it will eventually strangle the goose which lays the golden egg. (And in CIO theory the goose that lays the golden egg is not management, but a healthy consumer economy working through both management and labor.)

Labor stands on the principle that because hunger is a universal need, there is a universal morality demanding the fulfillment of that need. This is a unique thing. Unique, and indigenously American. No pre-nineteenth century society (with the possible exception of the brief-lived tribunals of the French Revolution) ever conceived of such a moral obligation. Very few twentieth century societies have spelled the obligation out as concretely. Yet in actuality the idea is indigenous also to the Christian tradition. For essentially American labor is demanding that the admonition, "Thou art thy brother's keeper" be applied on specifically economic grounds: "Thou art the keeper of thy workers." The outline of the Guaranteed Annual Wage implies, I think, a double fold to the admonition: "As thy workers are the keepers of thee . . ."

This, then, is the gist of the matter. Behind demands for better wages, for shorter working hours, for pensions, for the elimination of child labor, for the guaranteed annual wage, stands one deep and passionate desire: the desire of individual workers to be treated as human beings instead of commodities on the market. Just as Protestantism demands that the individual conscience be held in respect, so the true aim of any bona fide union is that the individual worker be held in respect, and that the uses of the industrial system be prevented from swallowing him up as if he were a piece of timber or a slab of steel. This, incidentally, is the reason why the Methodist lay ministry had such a profound influence on the British trade union movement.

*Kermit Eby, a Church of the Brethren Minister, former Educational Director of the C.I.O., and a member of MFSA, is a professor at the U. of Chicago. The article is taken from an address at the N. Y. Area Methodist Ministers Retreat, Jan. 25.

A THOUGHT FOR BROTHERHOOD MONTH

We need to remember that the other races have had no part or lot in the preparation of the new weapons of unlimited destruction which carry with them, as Einstein warns, the possibility of extinguishing all life upon this planet by the diffusion of radioactivity. They are the work of the white race alone, the leading part taken by the United States. It is the work of his hands the white man will mostly destroy if he lets the full power of these weapons loose. If there is any escape from this unlimited destruction it will be among the other races not yet industrially developed, and a nobler civilization will come into being to justify our faith that life did not appear upon this planet to come to a dead end. What is happening in Asia, and beginning in Africa, shows the potential of a new era in human history is there, and demonstrates that God hath not left Himself without a witness among the nations.

H. F. W.

METHODIST SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS BOARD

On the call of Rev. Dudley Ward, executive secretary of the Board of Social and Economic Relations, a conference was held in First Methodist Church, Evanston, February 1-4, of all members of Jurisdictional Boards and all Conference chairmen. Nearly 100 were present from all parts of the country. The undersigned attended as a member of the North-Eastern Jurisdictional Board and on the cordial personal invitation of Mr. Ward. Many well known and faithful members of the MFSA were present. The Federation may well take satisfaction in the work of the new board and rejoice in the fact that Federation leadership, especially that of Dr. Dillon Throckmorton, contributed so much to its establishment. The premier showing of a film on civil liberty entitled, "The Sound of a Stone," was a feature of a well-planned program which did not dodge controversial issues. This film may be obtained from the regular publishing house depositories and is recommended without reservation.

LOYD F. WORLEY.